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AN EXPEDITION TO ABYSSINIA

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UNTIL 1928 there were ten books of the Old Testament which had never been printed in Ethiopic (*Géez*). In 1513 Johannes Potken printed his *Psalterium* in Rome; in 1657 Walton's Polyglot contained the Psalms and the Song of Songs in Ethiopic; in 1660 Nisselius published Ruth; Zephaniah was published in the same year by Nisselius, and Jonah in the same year by Petracus. Jonah was again published in 1706 by Standacherus, and again in 1857 by William Wright. In 1661 Malachai was published by Petracus, and in the same year he published Joel, which was again published in 1879 by August Dillmann.

In the years 1853-1861 Dillmann also published the Ethiopic text of the Octateuch, Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings, besides the Apocrypha. The Octateuch was also published by Boyd in 1909 and 1911. In 1892 ff. Joh. Bachmann published Obadiah, and in 1893 the Book of Lamentations. Pereira published Job in 1907, Esther in 1913, Amos in 1917 and Ezra and Nehemiah in 1919. The same scholar, and since his recent death, Professor S. GREBAUT is preparing the Books of Chronicles for publication. In 1927 Löfgren published Daniel, and is now preparing an edition of the Minor Prophets. In 1928 the Catholic (Italian) Mission at Asmara in Eritrea printed the Bible complete in Ethiopic. But, in the first place, the text is not critical, in the sense that variant readings are not recorded for the use of students of the text of the Bible; and, in the second place, the Asmara Bible is very difficult to procure. As a matter of fact, the text of only one book of the Old Testament in a really critical way has ever been published. This is the text of the Book of Daniel which was published in 1927 by Löfgren on the basis of twelve manuscripts. The manuscripts used

by Löfgren are to be found in European libraries and museums. But not one of these manuscripts of Daniel is older than the fifteenth century.

The other books of the Old Testament which had never been printed before the Asmara Bible are: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, and Zechariah.

It has for a long time been my desire to publish a critical text of some of the Old Testament books in Ethiopic. Indeed, I had planned to do the Book of Daniel, and it was only after I had done considerable work on the text that I learned of Löfgren's work which was ready for publication. I then wrote to Löfgren and found that he was planning the publication of some other Old Testament books, and in consultation with him I decided to do Ecclesiastes at once, and to be ready to do Jeremiah and perhaps one other book in the near future unless some other scholar was ready to do the work.

Having decided on Ecclesiastes my first task was to procure photographs of every manuscript known to exist in Europe, containing the Book of Ecclesiastes. This I did in 1929 with the ready and generous assistance of the various Keepers of such manuscripts in Europe. I soon realized that no manuscript of Ethiopic Ecclesiastes in Europe could be dated earlier than the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century (*Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection d'Abbadie*, No. 55). These of course would do, just as they had served Löfgren. But, could I find an earlier one? The place to seek was Abyssinia. Thus I decided upon the expedition, the main object of which is clear from what I have already said.

Once the decision was made to go to Abyssinia, other objects at once presented themselves. Among them, the following took first place: A search for and examination of liturgical manuscripts; a study of liturgical usages as they are practiced in the native-churches to-day; a search for epigraphical material in the older sites of the country; and a study of the ethnological character of the population.

After long and careful preparation for the expedition, I left Europe on the twenty-sixth of January, fully equipped with photographic apparatus, and arrived in Abyssinia on February the fourth. The expedition lasted until the middle of April when I left Abyssinia again for Europe.

My expedition was blessed by the finest of weather and the best of good luck in the way of friendly officials and willing assistants. But

war reigned in Abyssinia during the whole period of my expedition, ending in the overthrow of the king's enemies, and, indirectly, in the death of the Empress. But in spite of the war, the expedition went on—thanks to the friendly assistance of His Majesty and the energetic steps taken on all occasions by the Foreign Minister and by Mr. Zaphiro of the British Legation. Besides these gentlemen many others, native, English, French and Germans, helped in a thousand different ways.

In Addis Ababa, I examined many biblical, liturgical and biographical manuscripts, but found no biblical manuscript earlier than the fifteenth century. His Majesty was particularly gracious in allowing me to photograph and copy anything of interest in his manuscripts. Some of his manuscripts are very rare, for example, he has a Ḥasāb, which is considered one of the rarest and most valuable of Ethiopic manuscripts. The Abyssinian Foreign Minister, Blatin Gheta Herui, one of the most learned of Ethiopian savants, brought much manuscript material to my notice. So did Ato Taamrat Emmanuel, head of the Falasha School in Addis Ababa. I visited churches in and near the city, observing services and taking notes of important transitions in them, as well as photographing various parts of the service.

I made five trips beyond Addis Ababa. One of the most interesting was my visit to Debré Lebanos, where I was given an opportunity to study the service at a time when I could take photographs of interesting phases of the mass. At Debré Lebanos I examined twenty-three large, important and interesting manuscripts and among them found one, containing the Book of Ecclesiastes, which has all the ear-marks of a good seventeenth century manuscript. I am using this manuscript in my text of Ecclesiastes, because of the great care with which it was copied. The authorities gave me permission to photograph it, which I did, under rather trying circumstances, but I am glad to say that the photographs came out well. Other manuscripts of Ecclesiastes of later dates, and liturgical manuscripts, I studied and copied in part, and still others of various kinds I studied and recorded as carefully as time and circumstances would permit.

My most fruitful trip was the one to Addis Alem, for it was there that I identified and photographed the best and earliest manuscript of Ethiopic Ecclesiastes known to exist. It is certainly an early fifteenth century manuscript, most carefully copied and undoubtedly represents faithfully a much earlier text. It will form the basis of my critical text of the Book of Ecclesiastes. Besides this manuscript, I photographed

another of the Book of Ecclesiastes, and took full notes of a third. But these two latter are not much earlier than some of those in Europe. Here also I had full opportunity to study the service and also the priestly vestments, and to make enquiries about various liturgical usages.

While in Addis Ababa and on various trips I had an occasion to study the Falasha Jews with some detail, and while I could not get as far as Jenda, on account of the war, I had several opportunities to visit groups of Falashas, to question them, and to learn a good deal about their customs and beliefs. The origin of the Falashas, their history, their religious customs, and their ways of living deserve careful and painstaking study.

On one of my expeditions I came across various inscriptions, which, I learned on good authority, came originally from Simen, where the Falashas lived at one time under their own Kings. The script is very ancient, and resembles some of the earliest South Arabian inscriptions. I have already published some of these in *Aethiops* and am preparing others for the benefit of Ethiopians. They will be published in the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*. This is another phase of Ethiopic learning which needs study and investigation, for there is, I believe, a good deal of epigraphical material to be found in Abyssinia, especially in the north.

Besides photographs of the earliest manuscript of the Book of Ecclesiastes known to exist, I brought home with me photographs of five other manuscripts, as well as a number of liturgical, historical, biographical, and apocryphal manuscripts of various dates.

One fact, among many others, has been impressed upon my mind by this expedition, namely, that there are still many ancient manuscripts to be found in Abyssinia, but they are mostly in private hands. They should be located, recorded and at least photographed before they are worn out or lost. This would need a carefully organized expedition, prepared to spend years in search and in the recording and buying or photographing of every existing ancient manuscript in the country, from north to south and from east to west.

My expedition lasted three months, it will take many months to study and publish its results. Certain services of the Ethiopic Church have never been studied and published. I found many liturgical manuscripts. These await careful study and publication. Furthermore, we have very little exact knowledge about the liturgical usages and practices of the Ethiopic Church, especially on great feast days,

such as Masqal, or the Epiphany. On these and similar subjects I have collected a great mass of material which awaits organization and publication. Mr. Philip P. Zaphiro, of the British Legation, has lived in Abyssinia close on forty years. He is a keen observer, and has taken great interest in the usages, thought and legends of the Abyssinian Church and people, and has collected a great deal of material. All this he has most generously placed at my disposal. Also the British Chaplain at Addis Ababa has contributed much to my stock of material, and, being resident in Abyssinia, is ready to follow out any line of investigation necessary. The various British Consuls in Abyssinia, all of them men of culture and training, such as Major Cheeseman of the Lake Tsana region, are ready and willing to collect information and material. I was successful also in finding a good deal of epigraphical material, some of which is being published in *Aethiops*, the rest will be published according as time and opportunity permit. And then there are many problems about the ethnological character of the people which will be discussed in future publications in the light of observations made and material collected.

Finally, the immediate object—the publication of a critical text of the Book of Ecclesiastes—is nearly accomplished. Much preliminary work was done before the expedition began. All the European manuscripts had been carefully studied. The expedition brought to light the oldest Ethiopic manuscript of Ecclesiastes known to exist. This has been taken as a standard text of Ecclesiastes, not only because of its unique age, but also because of the great care with which it was copied.

With this manuscript in hand, a carefully study was made of the Massoretic Hebrew text, the Septuagint with its variations, the Old Latin and Vulgate, the Syriac, Arabic and Coptic, and the Targum of Ecclesiastes. Then its text was compared with that of the twenty-two manuscripts of Ecclesiastes known to exist beyond the borders of Abyssinia, and with that of one other manuscript discovered in Abyssinia. Then on the basis of the character of the manuscripts themselves and of the results of the above comparisons, all the manuscripts were classified, and dated as nearly as possible, with full accounts and descriptions of them. After a discussion of the origin of the Ethiopic text of the Bible, and of Ecclesiastes in particular, the text of Ecclesiastes as it stands in the oldest known extant Ethiopic manuscript in the world has been copied. But there has been added as footnotes to

the text every variation of any importance in the twenty-three other Ethiopic manuscripts of Ecclesiastes. The Ethiopic text of Ecclesiastes is then followed by a critical commentary on the text in the light of the Massoretic, Septuagint, Old Latin, Vulgate, Syriac, Arabic, Coptic and Targum. The work is then concluded by an appropriate index of words and phrases. Thus, for the first time the Ethiopic text of the Book of Ecclesiastes in a critical way has been given to the world. Hitherto students of the text of the Old Testament have been in the dark as to the readings of the Ethiopic text of Ecclesiastes—a text which in many instances goes behind the various versions, behind the Massoretic text, and behind the Greek text to an earlier and perhaps original Hebrew text. This fact, which comes out clearly in the critical commentary, is of utmost importance to all students of the Old Testament. *The Ethiopic Text of the Book of Ecclesiastes* is now in the hands of the printers and should appear in the winter or early spring of 1931.

NORTH ARABIA AND THE ANCIENT SEALAND

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AN accumulation of varied data, published in a recent article,¹ directs attention to the connection between Arabia and the Sealand of antiquity. This question deserves more detailed discussion from the standpoint of the land's characteristics with reference to surface configuration, soil ingredients, mineral and vegetable products, terrain peculiarly related to the camel, and the possibility of gradual desiccation with resultant change in climate. Only by weighing each fact with the utmost care can the investigation result in valid conclusions.

The existence of a depression in the Arabian peninsula southeast of Palestine requires consideration. Sprenger states that if one travels two days south of Petra the land surface sinks abruptly (*plötzlich*) about 2000 feet.² A more general affirmation is that of Moritz: "Nord-Arabien ist der niedrigste Teil des großen Tafellandes der Halbinsel, das nach Süden allmählich zu einem Randgebirge ansteigt, bis es jäh zum Indischen Meere abbricht."³ The northern area of Arabia proper includes the desert of the Great Nefûd which is situated between about

¹ See JAOS L, pp. 1-25. Cf. Dhorme in *Revue Biblique*, 1922, p. 403f.; 1928, p. 498f. The following abbreviations are used in this article: ARAB = Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*; B = Brünnow, *A Classified List of all Simple and Compound Ideographs*; BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; BE = *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts*; CD = Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*; CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum*; JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; KB = Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*; NB = Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*; YOR XV; R = Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*; YBT = *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*; YOR = *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*.

² Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, p. 8.

³ Moritz, *Arabien—Studien zur physikalischen und historischen Geographie des Landes*, p. 5. Cf. *The Geographical Review*, July, 1930, p. 495, where Raswan refers to "a well defined depression that cuts across the entire peninsula from the Red Sea at Al-Wejh to Basra and is marked by the irregular lines of Wadi Humdh to the west and of Wadi Ruma' and its continuation, Al-Baten, to the east." See map, *ibid.*, facing p. 502.

28° and 30° north latitude.⁴ It is this region, then, which forms a portion of the lowest section of the peninsula. As such it acts as a divider which tends to separate Arabia from the rest of Southwestern Asia. "The peninsula is in fact so much cut off from the rest of Asia by the Nefûd that it is practically of an insular character."⁵ That the uniqueness of this region was recognized in antiquity is suggested by the following statement of Bunbury concerning Pliny: "It is remarkable that he, in common with most other ancient writers, applied the name Arabia Felix—restricted in modern usage to Yemen—in a sense that would seem to comprehend almost the whole peninsula: while he employed that of Arabia Deserta only for the sandy region extending from the head of the Gulf of Suez to the Persian Gulf, and forming in a certain sense the isthmus connecting the rest of Arabia with the main continent of Asia."⁶ If cuneiform testimony has been interpreted correctly, this is the region which Ashurbanipal's chronicler described as the Sealand, extending from the city of Aqaba to the city of Bâbsalimêti on the Persian Gulf.⁷ Apparently the spoil of Sargon of Agade was brought from the Westland through this Sealand to his domain in the Tigris-Euphrates valley.⁸ These important strands of evidence add special significance to the fact that the northern part of Arabia, which appears to have belonged to the ancient Sealand, is the lowest part of the peninsula. Furthermore, that this extensive depression slopes, as is indicated by the wadis, towards the Persian Gulf is a condition which favors the identification of this territory⁹ with the Sealand of cuneiform inscriptions. There was a time, covering a long cycle, when the land of Arabia arose gradually out of the sea. Philby found fossils in Arabia

⁴ *Arabia*, Handbook prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office, No. 61, p. 1.

⁵ Hogarth, *The Nearer East*, p. 69f. Cf. Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 15, note 1, and p. 19, note 3.

⁶ Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, II, p. 426f. Muqaddasî affirms that the deserts of the nomads in his time formed a boundary extending from Syria as far as Teima. See De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, III, p. 152. Jausser and Savignac in *Mission Archéologique en Arabie*, II, p. 146, interpret the statement of Muqaddasî as follows: "Le désert sert de limite au pays d'és-Sam: c'est comme un bras de mer depuis sa frontière jusqu'à Teima." There is appropriateness, therefore, in the fact that the inhabitants of Arabia call their land *Jezirat el-'Arab*, "The Island of the Arabs." Cf. the references in note 5.

⁷ See Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, p. 30, lines 98, 99. Cf. ARAB II, p. 301.

⁸ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, I, p. 35f.; II, p. 32.

⁹ Consult any standard map of Arabia. De Morgan in *La Préhistoire Orientale*, I, p. 204, refers to Arabian "vallées sans eau, toutes inclinées vers l'Euphrate ou vers le golfe Persique."

which a geologist has described as "the remnants of a marine fauna which thrived over a considerable area of what is now Arabia during the Jurassic period."¹⁰ It is conceivable that there came a stage in Arabia's slow elevation when the part that is now the peninsula's appreciable depression, as compared with the altitudes of the south,¹¹ was partially dry land and partially submerged by bodies of water,¹² both large and small, connected to some extent with one another and with the sea. It can hardly be believed that pronounced vestiges of this state of affairs survived in historic times, but residual conditions might well have preserved some signs of the former character of the land surface. Recognition of such factors in their environment might have caused early inhabitants of northern Arabia to think of their land as connected in some way with the sea and this may have given rise to the term Sealand.

Due to a sparsity of exact data the real width of the part of Arabia designated by the term Sealand is difficult to determine. It is probable, however, that the Sealand was more than a narrow belt extending from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. "The sands of the northern Nefûd send down on the west a long tongue, which encircles the oasis of Teima, and reaches even to the lavas of Kheibar."¹³ "Eine oder mehrere dieser Zungen biegen nach Südosten um, streichen in etwa 40 km Breite unter dem Namen el 'Arme durch Ost-Arabien, um schließlich vorbei an der noch wenig bekannten Landschaft Jabrîn in das endlose Sandmeer von Süd-Arabien auszumünden."¹⁴ Cuneiform inscriptions assert that the Sealand in the east, represented by Bît-Yâkin, extended as far south as the island of Dilmun (modern Bahrein), which is situated on the twenty-sixth parallel of north latitude.¹⁵ Perhaps it is a mere

¹⁰ Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, II, p. 305 f. The report on the fossils found by Philby in "Central Arabia during his remarkable traverse of that country in 1918 between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea" was made by Professor R. B. Newton. Related to this question is the following statement by Moritz: "Das ganze Gebiet des großen Nefûd muß ursprünglich eine weite Depression gewesen sein." See Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹ Cf. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 70. Concerning the elevated table-land of Arabia De Morgan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 204, says, "L'altitude de ce plateau oscille entre 1,000 et 2,000 mètres. Il sert de base aux massifs montagneux du Hedjaz, de l'Yémen et de l'Hadramant, dont quelques pics dépassent 3,000 mètres de hauteur."

¹² According to a statement made by Bekri the wall of Teima bordered formerly upon a sea whose length was a parasang. See Wüstenfeld, *Das geographische Wörterbuch des Abu 'Obeid 'Abdallah ben 'Abd el-'Aziz el-Bekri*, p. 209. Cf. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I, p. 296. See note 61.

¹³ Hogarth, *op. cit.*, p. 71. ¹⁴ Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁵ ARAB II, pp. 26, 41, 48, 49, 50, 52, and 54. See following note.

coincidence that the encroaching sand of the Nefûd in the west reaches as far south as Teima and Kheibar which lie in about the same latitude as the island of Bahrein. Another indication of the extent of the Sealand is not without important significance. There is Assyrian attestation that a portion of the Sealand was extensive enough for the use of the descriptive phrase "Bit-Yâkin, north and south."¹⁶ Such nomenclature could hardly have arisen with reference to an exceedingly slender strip of territory stretching from east to west. It is true that a ribbon of land along the western border of the Persian Gulf might well have been referred to as "Bit-Yâkin, north and south," but there is some cuneiform intimation that the Sealand reached as far west as the Red Sea.¹⁷ The littoral of Arabia along the Red Sea is still called *Tihâma*,¹⁸ which is the Arabic equivalent of *tiāmtu*, *tâmtu*, "sea," and may therefore be regarded as a survival of *Tâmtim*, *mât Tâmtim*, *mât Tâmtim^{kî}*, as the Sealand was designated in the Assyrian and Babylonian languages.¹⁹ Of particular force in the inference which is being drawn is the fact that a name employed for the Sealand of old was the simple form *Tâmtim* (written *Tam-tim*) without the use of any determinatives. This strengthens the striking similarity between the ancient term for the Sealand and the expression *Tihâma* (the same as Hebrew *Tehôm*) which has lasted down to the present day as a geographical designation for the lowlands along the Red Sea coast of Arabia. Hence that at least a part of western Arabia may be regarded as having been incorporated in the Sealand of cuneiform inscriptions seems to be indicated by the present application of the term *Tihâma* to that region. It is unlikely that there were two Sealands in antiquity, one on the Persian Gulf and one on the Red Sea with no connection between them. Information furnished by inscriptions dealing with the campaigns of Sargon of Agade and Ashurbanipal suggests, as has already been pointed out, that the Sealand was a continuous territory extending from the Westland and the northern part of the Red Sea as far as the Tigris-Euphrates valley and the Persian Gulf. Consequently the part

¹⁶ ARAB II, pp. 21 and 35. Cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 30, note 4. Yâkinu was king of the Sealand in the time of Shalmaneser III. Merodach-baladan II, the king of the Sealand, is referred to as the son of Yâkinu. See ARAB I, pp. 232 and 285; II, pp. 14 and 33. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that Bit-Yâkin was another name for the eastern part of the Sealand.

¹⁷ See the references cited in notes 7 and 8.

¹⁸ See p. 4 of the Handbook on Arabia cited in note 4.

¹⁹ Cf. CD, p. 1174, and the references given in notes 51, 52, and 53 of this article.

of Arabia between 26° and 30° north latitude may be accepted tentatively as having been included in the area of the ancient Sealand.²⁰

The land surface of most of this part of Arabia consists of sand and this fact may not be unrelated to the origin of the term Sealand. There is evidence that sand was prevalent in this region in antiquity. Esarhaddon in the notable campaign during which he penetrated far into Arabia crossed a wide stretch of sandy terrain.²¹ Classical writers bear definite witness to the existence of an actual wilderness in northern Arabia.²² Hence there is in reality no ground for the assumption that the surface formation of what is now known as Arabia Deserta²³ has changed much since the time when history began. Unless the evidence is misleading the northern part of Arabia was called the Sealand as early as the middle of the third millennium B.C.²⁴ and this designation for it survived in cuneiform inscriptions two thousand years later.²⁵ It is possible, therefore, to think of huge areas of sand as

²⁰ It is entirely conceivable that the Sealand may not have been limited by these degrees of latitude. One must be prepared for the discovery that the whole of Arabia, or at any rate the major portion of it, was known as the Sealand. There are evidences that the sea passage from the Persian Gulf to Egypt was a practical route in antiquity. Cf. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 582f., and p. 224 for a map of ancient trade routes. If the people of the Tigris-Euphrates valley had attained early advancement in such sciences as metal working, astronomy, &c., it is unlikely that their sea voyages would have left them ignorant of the real shape of Arabia as an immense district almost surrounded by the sea. It is thinkable that the term Sealand was related to the geographical contour of Arabia. However, another factor should be emphasized. The existence of the geographical terms *Esh-Sham*, "The Land to the Left," and *El-Yemen*, "The Land to the Right," points to an important country between them where these terms originated. That this country was the Sealand is entirely possible. If so, it may be inferred that the Sealand was bounded on the north by Syria, "The Land to the Left," and on the south by Yemen, "The Land to the Right."

²¹ *KB* II, pp. 130 and 146; *ARAB* II, pp. 209 and 214; Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 19. The cuneiform scribe records that Esarhaddon proceeded to Bâzu, "a district whose location is distant, a stretch of dry land, salty terrain, a place of thirst, 140 'double-hours' of sand land (*qaq-qar ba-a-si*)," &c. See Bezold, *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar*, p. 91, for *bassu*, *bâsu*, "Sand," "Sandhaufen," "Sanddüne." Cf. *ARAB* II, p. 7.

²² Diodorus, II, 54, in describing the district between North Arabia and Arabia Felix, makes the following statement: ἡ δὲ ἀνὰ μέσον τούτης τε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμόνος Ἀραβίας ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος ἐστι, καθάπερ προειρηται. Strabo, XVI, 3, 1, refers to the region beyond the dwellers of North Arabia in the following way: ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἔρημός ἐστι πολλάτι.

²³ For an excellent general discussion of Arabia Deserta see Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies, No. 2, pp. 497-531.

²⁴ Cf. King, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 1-26. Although the chronicles discussed by King appear to be late copies of early records there is no reason to suppose that they are not faithful reflections of the conditions and views which are recorded.

²⁵ *JAOS* L, p. 12f.

the main characteristic of the Sealand of old. In this connection ŠEŠ-KŪ^{ki},²⁶ the Sumerian ideogram for the Sealand district, deserves consideration. A literal translation of this ideogram is "the land which is the brother of a fish."²⁷ It seems, accordingly, to refer to something which was regarded as closely connected with a fish's mode of life or environment, and it may be that sand which is the predominant soil element of the region called the Sealand was described symbolically by the ideogram. The suppositional and tentative character of this etymological explanation of ŠEŠ-KŪ^{ki} prevents any attempt to employ it for final proof, but it acquires plausibility from the fact that the Sealand of cuneiform records was a territory composed largely of extensive tracts of sand. The tendency of modern writers to liken the sandy areas of Arabia to the billowy sea adds validity to the view that the ancients may have had a similar conception.²⁸

Numerous deposits of salt in northern Arabia constitute another reason for regarding it possible that it was associated in antiquity with the sea. Doughty extols the valuable salt beds at Teima from which Arabs over a large part of Arabia season their food.²⁹ Philby in his description of the country makes frequent use of such terms as "saline ground," "brackish subsoil," "briny wells," "bitter water," "brine saturated soil," "wells of brackish water," "saline depression," "salt pans."³⁰ Such extensive impregnation with salt links the land with marine conditions.³¹ There is no way of knowing whether those who

²⁶ JAOS L, p. 16.

²⁷ Another common meaning of ŠEŠ is *naṣāru*, "guard," "protect," but it is difficult to understand how the idea "guardian of a fish" could have been connected with the Sealand as a region predominantly in Arabia.

²⁸ In addition to the instances mentioned in JAOS L, p. 16, certain striking expressions employed by Philby should be quoted. They are "desert ocean," "rolling sea of sand billows," "sea-like horizon," "the sea of sand was dotted with islands of black rock and reefs of bare lowlying clay." See Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, pp. 160, 184, 307, 339, and 368. It is of interest in this connection that Arabic *i'talaja*, the eighth form of *'alaja*, means "to dash together (of waves)," and "to collect together (of sand)." An ancient name for the Nefud was *Raml 'alij*. See Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁹ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I, p. 296.

³⁰ Philby, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 140, 157, 158, 178, 234, 305, 327, and 343.

³¹ Professor J. A. Montgomery has called the writer's attention to the Arabic verb *yamm*, "to be thrown into the sea," "to be covered by the sea." The fifth form of this verb, *tayammama*, means "to perform one's ablutions with sand." Hebrew *yām*, "sea," was used in the main as a designation for bodies of salt water. The Arabian province of Yamâma, occupying an easterly position in the central part of the peninsula, deserves special mention. Hogarth, *The Penetration of Arabia*, p. 108, states that Yamâma "was once so fertile and important as to be the single district of Central Arabia

originated the term Sealand were influenced by this wide prevalence of salt deposits in Arabia, but there can be no doubt that the combination of sand and salt is most suggestive.³²

Intimation that the ancient Sealand was in Arabia is furnished by a cuneiform text which lists the products of the region known as the Sealand. Unfortunately a rich supply of data of this type is not at hand. However, the information which is provided is sufficient to give an inkling of the Sealand's location. The text in question states the different kinds of tribute which Tiglathpileser III in the eighth century B.C. received from Merodach-baladan II, the king of the Sealand. The translation of the pertinent part of the inscription is as follows: "Gold, the dust of his land (or mountains),³³ in great quantity, vessels of gold, golden necklaces, precious stones, the produce of the sea, *ušū* wood, *ellutu* wood, *LAL* and *LU-a-nu* plants, variegated garments, all kinds of aromatic plants, oxen and small cattle I received as his tribute."³⁴ One of the main gifts of Merodach-baladan II was "gold, the dust of his land, in great quantity,"³⁵ together with objects of gold. There is sufficient attestation that Arabia in the distant past was famed as a land which yielded gold untouched by fire (ἀπυρος χρυσός),³⁶ i.e., gold which was usable without being put through the smelting process. One may not be sure that the cuneiform scribe was alluding to the kind of gold which the Greeks called ἀπυρος χρυσός when he described Sealand gold as "dust" but the possibility is at least present that his words denote gold of exceptional purity. On the other

commonly known to Moslem geographers." See Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, II, pp. 31-34, for a description of the present state of Yamâma and evidences of its former importance. The question arises as to whether Yamâma, like Tibâma, may not be a designation which had its origin in the fact that the part of Arabia in which it is located was known as the Sealand.

³² For an exhaustive study of the processes of sand formation and salt collection in desert areas consult Walther, *Das Gesetz der Wüstenbildung in Gegenwart und Vorzeit*.

³³ See Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III*, Band I, p. 62, note 1, for the variant *šadi-i-šu* for *mâti-šu* in this cuneiform passage.

³⁴ Rost, *op. cit.*, Band I, p. 62f. *ARAB* I, p. 285.

³⁵ *Hurâṣu epir māti-šu a-na ma'-di-i.*

³⁶ Diodorus II, 50: μεταλλεύεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ ὁ προσαγορευόμενος ἀπυρος χρυσός, οὐχ ὥσπερ παρά τοις ἄλλοις ἐκ ψημάτων καθεψόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὄρυττόμενος εὑρίσκεται τὸ μέγεθος καρδοῖς κασταναῖκοῖς παραπλήσιος, τὴν δὲ χρόνα οὕτω φλογώδης ὡστε τοὺς ἐντυπωτάτους λίθους ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐνδεθέντας ποιεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν κοσμημάτων. See *NB*, p. 151, note 494. Cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, p. 165, note 4. Moritz, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-110, has proven conclusively that Ophir, the source of gold, was in Arabia.

hand, his statement suggests with some degree of certainty that gold was very abundant in the Sealand. Connection of the Sealand with Arabia appears to be indicated by these facts. Precious stones, literally "the splendor of stones,"³⁷ formed another prominent part of the heavy tribute of Merodach-baladan II. Diodorus asserts that the costly stones of Arabia in his time exceeded all others for clearness, weight, and smoothness.³⁸ Arabia was the source of "the various garnets, onyx and agates, and carnelian."³⁹ Hence the gift of precious stones proffered by Merodach-baladan II is a further intimation of his close association with the land of Arabia. A third Arabian product contributed by Merodach-baladan II as a sign of his vassalage is comprehended under the term "all kinds of aromatic plants."⁴⁰ According to Herodotus frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and resinous gum were exported only by Arabia, whose atmosphere was heavy with perfume.⁴¹ Diodorus states that the very soil of Arabia was regarded as odoriferous.⁴² Strabo also describes Arabia as a spice producing country and lauds its fragrant palms and scented reeds.⁴³ There can be no doubt that the ancients looked upon Arabia as the main spice land. That Merodach-baladan II was able to add "all kinds of aromatic plants" to the rich presents which he bestowed upon Tiglathpileser III

³⁷ *Ni-siq-ti abnē*. It should not be overlooked that the words *ni-siq-ti abnē* are followed by *bi-nu-ut tam-tim*, generally translated "the produce of the sea." However, since *Tāmtim* without any determinative was used as a designation for Sealand (see references in note 51), it is not impossible that the reading should be *bi-nu-ut Tam-tim*, "the produce of the Sea(land)." This interpretation is supported by the following passage which occurs only two lines before in the same inscription: *Marduk-apal-iddina mār Ya-ki-ni šar Tam-tim*, "Merodach-baladan, the son of Yâkini, the king of the Sea(land)." See Rost, *op. cit.*, Band I, p. 60f., line 26.

³⁸ Diodorus II, 52: διόπερ οὔτε ἡ Παρία λύγδος οὔτ' ἄλλη θαυμαζομένη πέτρα τοῖς Ἀραβίοις λίθοις ἔξισθιναι δύναται, ὃν λαμπροτάτη μὲν ἡ λευκότης, βαρύτατος δὲ ὁ σταθμός, τῇ δὲ λειότης υπερβολὴν ἐτέροις οὐκ ἀπολείπουσα.

³⁹ Schoff, *The Ship "Tyre,"* p. 118.

⁴⁰ *Riqqē kala-ma.*

⁴¹ Herodotus III, 107: ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τέ ἐστι μούνη χωρέων πασέων τρύμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ καστίν καὶ κιννάμωνον καὶ λήδανον. Herodotus III, 113: ἀπόξει δὲ τῆς χάρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ἀς ἥδυ.

⁴² Diodorus II, 49: πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι φύσεις εὐώδεις καρποφοροῦσαι τὰς ἀπορροὰς καὶ προσπνεύσεις ἔχουσι τοῖς ἔγγισασι προσηνεστάτας. καὶ γάρ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς γῆς ἔχει τι φυσικὸν ἔνατμον καὶ θυμιάματιν ἤδεσιν ἑουκός.

⁴³ Strabo XVI, 4, 19: συνάπτει δ' ἡ τῶν Σαβαίων εὐδαιμονεστάτη, μεγίστου ἔθνους, παρ' οἷς καὶ σμύρνα καὶ λίβανος καὶ κιννάμωνον· ἐν δε τῇ παραλίᾳ καὶ βάλσαμον καὶ ἄλλη τις πόσα σφόδρα εὐώδης, ταχὺ δ' ἔξιτηλον τὴν ὄδημὴν ἔχουσα· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ φοίνικες εὐώδεις καὶ κάλαμος, δφεις δὲ σπιθαμαῖοι, φοινικοὶ τὴν χρόαν, προσαλλόμενοι καὶ μέχρι λαγόνος, το δῆγμα ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστον.

shows that he could command the basic resources of a considerable portion of Arabia. We may infer, therefore, that the inclusion of "gold," "precious stones," and "aromatic plants" among the tributary gifts of a king of the Sealand is cumulative evidence of intimate political relationship rather than mere contact with Arabia.

Camels are not mentioned in the extended list of presents from Merodach-baladan II to Tiglathpileser III and this is contrary to expectation. Only "oxen and small cattle" are included in the enumeration. However, when Sargon II⁴⁴ defeated Merodach-baladan II, part of the booty taken by him consisted of "2,500 horses, 610 mules, and 854 camels," aside from "oxen and small cattle."⁴⁵ In this connection it should not be forgotten that all the animals mentioned in the spoil acquired by Sargon II were in use throughout the whole Semitic world, but the camel may be regarded as having been at all times the Arabian beast of burden and means of travel *par excellence*.⁴⁶ It is for this reason that the cuneiform ideogram for camel, viz., *imér A-AB-BA*⁴⁷ possesses special significance. The Sumerians employed the sign group *A-AB-BA* as a designation for "sea." With the coming of the Semites and their borrowing of the cuneiform method of writing from the Sumerians the equation of *A-AB-BA* with *tāmtu*, "sea,"⁴⁸ was the natural consequence and scribes used *A-AB-BA* and *tāmtu* interchangeably as long as writing upon clay tablets continued to be in vogue.⁴⁹ The utilization of the ideogram *A-AB-BA*, preceded by the determinative referring to a certain class of animals,⁵⁰ as the linguistic symbol for camel cannot

⁴⁴ Tiglathpileser III reigned 745-727 B.C. He was followed by Shalmaneser V and then came Sargon II who reigned 721-705 B.C.

⁴⁵ *ARAB* II, p. 20.

⁴⁶ That the camel, often called "the ship of the desert," may have had a rival in ancient Arabia is indicated by the place taken by the donkey in modern Arabia. Dependable observers have referred to the latter as "hardly less than the camel as a beast of the desert," and "no whit the inferior of the camels in endurance of thirst." See Doughty, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 69 and 281; Philby, *The Heart of Arabia*, I, pp. 12 and 44. Hence one need not be surprised if mules were found serviceable in ancient Arabia. The fame which has long been attached to Arabian horses should also be kept in mind.

⁴⁷ See the discussion of this ideogram for camel in *NB*, p. 115, note 379.

⁴⁸ Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, pp. 1 and 5.

⁴⁹ An instance of this is found in the Sennacherib Prism Inscription, Col. I, lines 13 and 14, where the following passage occurs: *ul-tu tāmtim (A-AB-BA) e-li-ni-ti ša ša-lam* "Šamši (-ši) a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti ša si-it" "Šamši (-ši), "from the upper sea of the setting sun to the lower sea of the rising sun." See Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, pp. 23 and 163.

⁵⁰ Comparison should be made with *imér KUR-RA* (*B* 4994), "ass of the mountain (or east)," the Semitic equivalent being *sīshū*, "horse," and *imér EDIN-NA* (*B* 4992),

have been the result of mere chance or whim. Connected with each ideogram is a philological history in harmony with its origin and usage. Since the Sealand, of which the variant cuneiform writings are *Tam-tim*,⁵¹ *māt Tam-tim*,⁵² *māt Tam-tim^{ki}*,⁵³ *A-AB-BA(?)*,⁵⁴ *māt A-AB-BA*,⁵⁵ and *māt A-AB-BA^{ki}*,⁵⁶ appears to have been predominantly in Arabia and since the camel of the ancient world was associated intimately with Arabia, the conclusion is inevitable that the camel was known particularly as the Sealand animal, and hence *imér A-AB-BA = gammalu*, "camel," is an instance of normal rather than fantastic evolution in cuneiform nomenclature. This explains a hitherto troublesome ideogram and provides confirmation for the view that the Sealand was in Arabia.

The preceding discussion concerning the principal things presented as tribute from the Sealand, viz., gold, precious stones, aromatic plants, and camels, and the view that Arabia is the land from which they came

"ass of the plain," the Semitic equivalent being *purīmu*, "wild ass." It is evident, therefore, that *imér A-AB-BA* (*B* 4997), means "ass of the Sea(*land*)," the common Semitic equivalent of which is *gammalu*, "camel." In this connection mention should be made of *BURU A-AB-BA = e-rib tam-tim*, usually translated "Meerheuschrecke." See *R* II, 5, cd, 4; *CT* XIV, 2, 46; Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, 79a (39). Since *BURU A-AB-BA* may be read *e-rib A-AB-BA* and its equivalent transcribed *e-rib Tāmtim*, it may be that the meaning is "locust of the Sea(*land*)," instead of "sea-locust." It can be said with truth that the locust or grasshopper, although able to cross streams when necessary and liable to be carried by wind over large bodies of water, is no more connected with marine fauna than the camel. See *The Cambridge Natural History*, V, pp. 290, 295; Otto Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, II, pp. 455f.; Delitzsch, *Assyrische Tiernamen*, "Assyrische Studien," Hett I, p. 73f. Exodus 10:12, 13 records the fact that an east wind blowing for twenty-four hours brought locusts to Egypt, presumably from Arabia. This harmonizes with the view that the Sealand of Arabia harbored locusts.

⁵¹ See Rost, *op. cit.*, Band I, p. 60, line 26; *BA* II, pp. 429, line 9, 487, line 9; *KB* VI, p. 66, line 9.

⁵² Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 30, line 98; 40, line 97.

⁵³ Tremayne, *Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses*, *YBT* VII, 106:5.

⁵⁴ *BE* XIV, 58:51, 53; 168:18, 22, 23; XV, 199:26, 27, 33, 38, 40. Some uncertainty as to whether *A-AB-BA* in these passages refers to the Sealand should be admitted, but the fact that Semitic *Tam-tim* was used without determinatives as a designation of the Sealand suggests that the Sumerian ideogram *A-AB-BA* might have been employed in a similar way. It is evident that *A-AB-BA* in *imér A-AB-BA*, "camel," does not refer to the sea, inasmuch as the camel cannot be thought of as a sea animal. In the Kassite period *gir-ri A-AB-BA* and *girri Tam-tim* occur in contexts which may be interpreted as indicating that oil and flour were furnished for journeys. See *BE* XIV, 134:2; 147:6 and cf. *BE* XVII, p. 10, note 3. It is not impossible that these texts refer to journeys to the Sealand rather than to the sea.

⁵⁵ See King, *op. cit.*, II, p. 51.

⁵⁶ *BE* XVII, 37:10.

receive emphatic corroboration from the heavy tax which Esarhaddon placed upon Iata', king of the Arabs. This tax consisted of " (10 minas) of gold, 1,000 precious stones, 50 camels, and (1,000) bundles? of aromatic plants."⁵⁷ There can be no doubt that his list includes what may be regarded as the typical products of Arabia. The fact that they coincide with products ascribed to the Sealand cannot be set aside as having no bearing upon the question which is under discussion.

If what the ancients called the Sealand was located in the northern part of the peninsula of Arabia, the question arises as to whether a more favorable climate existed in that region during the millennia immediately prior to the beginning of our era. The Sealand was the arena of activity for a people sufficiently flourishing to furnish several dynasties in control of the throne of Babylon.⁵⁸ Repeated attacks upon the Sealand during a period of two thousand years failed to destroy its power of recuperation or to diminish its ability to survive. These facts suggest that the Sealanders, if they actually inhabited a wide region of Arabia, found their environment more conducive to prosperity than sojourners or wanderers do in the same district today.

It is much to the point that traditions of a former thriving condition of their land are preserved in the literature of the Arabs. These interpretations of the past intimate that the northern part of Arabia was once a veritable paradise.⁵⁹ Shall such a view of what are now mainly desert wastes be ascribed to a historical mirage projected by unwarranted enthusiasm towards a far distant period of life in Arabia or shall some credence be given to it on the ground that progressive desiccation in sandy areas presupposes a time when the soil was more fertile due to the presence of a greater amount of moisture? The main exponent of the former attitude towards Arab descriptions of the early palmy state of their country is Lammens. He scouts their value and expresses the opinion that very little change in climatic conditions has taken place in Arabia.⁶⁰ Caetani, on the other hand, believes that considerable variation in climate has been a definite factor in the history of Arabia.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assaraddon*, p. 20f.; *ARAB* II, pp. 208, 214, and 218f. Comparison should be made with the tribute paid to Sargon II, *ARAB* II, p. 8.

⁵⁸ *JAOS* L, pp. 2f.; 12f.; 20ff.

⁵⁹ Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 19f., note 3.

⁶⁰ Lammens, *Le Berceau de l'Islam*, pp. 113-130.

⁶¹ See Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, II, 2, pp. 831ff. If Teima in Bekri's time (see note 12) was located on the shore of a considerable body of water, enough proof is at hand that desiccation has occurred in that region, and what has taken place in one part

It may be that the light which has been thrown upon the location of the Sealand has an important bearing upon this question. Acceptance of this as a possibility does not require the assumption that the terrain of northern Arabia was drastically different in ancient times. If, as seems proven, the Sumerian ideogram for camel was connected with the Sealand so far as its origin is concerned, the Sealand must have been a suitable habitat for camels at an early period of history. Hence it seems necessary to surmise that great stretches of sand areas were a part of the Sealand at the very beginning of those forms of life which developed into the Sealand dynasties. The real sand forming epoch in Arabia was doubtless prehistoric. In other words, the long geological period which followed the emergence of the peninsula from the sea witnessed the formation of most of the sand of Arabia.⁶² There are strong indications that Arabia was once favored with considerable rainfall.⁶³ However, very intense rains were not needed as a feature of the ancient Sealand's climate in order to make it more habitable than now. When one takes account of the effect of a single heavy rain in the Nefûd at the present time,⁶⁴ a little imagination will suffice to picture the conditions which probably prevailed in northern Arabia when the supply of moisture was only moderately in excess of that which characterizes the same region today.

of Arabia may be regarded as representative of the process which has been operative more or less throughout the whole peninsula. Furthermore, if a lake filled the depression where Teima now exists, north of the elevated ruins of the ancient city, it is natural to suppose that the supply of water was even more copious in times of real antiquity. Only in this way can the importance of ancient Têmâ be explained. Cf. *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, XLIV, pp. 432-447; Huntington, *The Pulse of Progress*, p. 201; *The Pulse of Asia*, p. 367; *Climatic Changes*, p. 67; *Palestine and its Transformation*, pp. 275f.; *Atlantic Monthly*, 1930, p. 515; Wigram, *The Assyrians and their Neighbours*, p. 12; De Morgan, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, I, pp. 162 and 206; Musil, *Northern Négd*, American Geographical Society, *Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 5, pp. 304-319.

⁶² Sand has probably been in formation in historic times too and has been shifting a great deal, encroaching on other territory.

⁶³ See Childe, *The Most Ancient East*, p. 24.

⁶⁴ Cf. *The Letters of Gertrude Bell*, I, pp. 339f. See the *Handbook on Arabia* (referred to in note 4), p. 7, for the statement that the Nefûd, next to Yemen and Asîr, is the part of Arabia most favored with rainfall. Hence, if there was more precipitation of moisture in Arabia in the distant past, the Nefûd must have participated in the greater fertility which existed at that time. The use of the designation "the desert of the sea" in Isaiah 21:1 and the reference to "all the waters of the desert" in *The Book of Jubilees* 9:4, if they have been interpreted correctly in *JAOS* L, pp. 22f., are definite suggestions that the sections of Arabia denoted could not have been as arid in ancient times as they are today.

The foregoing presentation of the various factors which enter into the question of the geography of the Sealand shows that it is not easy to determine with exactness the reason for the application of the term Sealand to a part of Arabia. It may be that more than one of the several suggestions which have been made will prove to be based upon fact. Let us hope that future discoveries will throw more light upon this phase of the problem. Obscurity shrouds the history of the Sealand in another respect. No information is at hand as to what caused the term Sealand to be discarded as a designation for northern Arabia. Yet it is probable that the Arabic form of the name survives in *Tihâma*,⁶⁵ and this seems to indicate that a gradual change in the meaning and application of the term may have taken place until only the western littoral of Arabia was signified by it.

There are references to מִדְיָנִית הַיּוֹם, "the province of the sea," in the *Mishnâh*. Modern Hebrew dictionaries interpret this to mean "a country beyond the sea," "a distant place." However, as applied specifically to the laws of divorce, it is not regarded as equivalent to חוץ לארץ, "outside the land," "abroad," which may describe a place close to the border of Palestine as well as a district far away. That מִדְיָנִית הַיּוֹם was used to denote a region far from Palestine is indicated by the contexts in which these words occur in the *Mishnâh*. The pertinent legal provisions may be presented in the following simple manner. If some one came from "the province of the sea," he might cut his hair or shave himself during the half festival days.⁶⁶ The assumption is that the arduousness of his journey had prevented him from paying attention to his personal appearance. If the husband of a woman went to "the province of the sea" and his wife, because of a rumor of his death, married another man, she was required to receive a divorce from both if her first husband returned.⁶⁷ If a woman and her husband, between whom there was peace, went to "the province of the sea" and she returned with the report that her husband had died, that woman could marry again.⁶⁸ If a woman stated that she had a son in "the province of the sea" and that both her husband and her son had died, that woman was to be believed.⁶⁹ If a woman returned from "the province of the sea" and said that her husband was no longer living, her

⁶⁵ The geographical term *Yamâma* must also be kept in mind in this connection. See note 31.

⁶⁶ *Mo'ed qâton* III, 1, 2.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XV, 1.

⁶⁷ *Yebâmôth* X, 1.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, XV, 9.

testimony was to be accepted and she was to be granted the privilege of remarrying.⁷⁰ If some question concerning a marriage contract arose—the husband having gone to “the province of the sea”—in case his wife received her dowery in his absence, she was compelled to do so under oath.⁷¹ Special attention was given to cases arising from the fact that the husband had gone to “the province of the sea” and (a) his wife sought support from the court,⁷² or (b) some one else supported his wife,⁷³ or (c) his neighbors took possession of his field.⁷⁴ In case a man and wife went to “the province of the sea” and they returned with children, he could declare, without furnishing proof, that the children were born of the wife that went with him. If the wife had died, he was required to bring proof that the children belonged to him.⁷⁵ If an agent for a man or his wife brought a divorce from “the province of the sea,” that agent had to declare that the divorce was written and sealed in his presence.⁷⁶ If the judges erred in a case and the man involved had gone to “the province of the sea,” that man was not required to make the customary offering.⁷⁷

Every provision of the *Mishnâh* which refers to “the province of the sea” indicates that a region at considerable distance from Palestine was in the mind of the writer. “The province of the sea” was so far away that events which transpired there could not be investigated with ease. There has not been unanimity among interpreters of the *Mishnâh* with regard to the exact meaning of מִדְנַת הַיָּם.⁷⁸ It is possible to infer from

⁷⁰ *Eduyyôth* I, 12.

⁷¹ *Kethuboth* IX, 8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, XIII, 1.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, XIII, 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, 7.

⁷⁵ *Qiddushin* IV, 10.

⁷⁶ *Gittin* I, 1.

⁷⁷ *Horayot* I, 2.

⁷⁸ This appears particularly in connection with comments upon *Gittin* I, 1. See discussion in the Babylonian Talmud, 8a. According to Rashi and the responsum published in *Geonica*, II, p. 173, מִדְנַת הַיָּם meant any province outside of Palestine with the exception of Babylon. The Tosafists raised the question as to why the *Mishnâh* uses the term יָם מִדְנֵה and not חַרְבָּה if Rashi's interpretation is correct. On account of this difficulty the Tosafists assumed that מִדְנֵה יָם meant קֹרֶן אֹם נָפָךְ, “a distant place,” in order to exclude regions near Palestine which were called חַרְבָּה. In the Novellae of R. Yom Tob Ben Abraham of Seville we find the view expressed that מִדְנַת הַיָּם meant בָּאָה לְעֵבֶר יָם, “across the sea.” Cf. *Castor wa-pherach*, ed. Edelmann, p. 44a and b. Rapoport in *Erech Millin*, p. 220f., states that only those lands west of the land of Israel were called מִדְנַת הַיָּם. Isaak Halevy in *Dorot Harischonim, Die Geschichte und Literatur Israels*, II, p. 209, asserts that מִדְנַת הַיָּם designated the lands which are located on מִזְרָח הַתְּהִיכָּן, “the middle sea,” i.e., the Mediterranean. The possibility that the expression “the province of the sea” was not unrelated in geographical content to “the desert of the sea” of Isaiah 21:1 and “all the waters of the desert” of *The Book of Jubilees* 9:4 is worthy of consideration. See discussion in *JAOS* L, pp. 22f.

this that knowledge of the real content of the term disappeared for some reason or other. One wonders, therefore, whether מדיינָה ים may not have been connected in some way with the portion of Arabia known in ancient times as the Sealand. Next to Palestine, Egypt, and Babylonia, Arabia was a land of importance to the Jews at the time when the *Mishnâh* received its final editing, and probably long before that period. Strong colonies of Jews settled in Arabia.⁷⁹ While it is not possible to assert with positiveness that "the province of the sea" of the *Mishnâh* is to be associated with "the country of the sea" of cuneiform inscriptions, the literary implications are not unfavorable to such an identification. It is recognized that the evidence concerning this question possesses an elusive character. Nevertheless it has been thought best to present it in order that no data of potential value may be overlooked.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, p. 42f.

⁸⁰ Helpful suggestions were furnished the writer by Dr. Philip Grossman.

THE FLOOD IN THE BOOK OF ENOCH AND RABBINICS

By CHAIM KAPLAN

NOTE the following rabbinic passages that are closely parallel to the Noachic fragments in the Book of Enoch:

3 Enoch (ed. Odeberg), 5: Uzza, Azza and Uziel taught enchantments whereby they brought down the sun and moon and used them for their own purposes. 7: they used to collect silver and gold and precious stones, making idols out of them and setting them in the four corners of the world.

Zohar 1, 56: they were proficient in the art of witchcraft to control the powers of heaven so that Judgment could not overwhelm them; they knew the angels set over fire and water...

Enoch LXV, 6: Because they have learned the secrets of the angels and all the powers of witchcraft ... who make molten images ... how silver is produced... 10: through which they know that the earth and all on it shall be destroyed.

The flood generation, though having knowledge of the impending catastrophe, hoped to avert the disaster by means of witchcraft and human artifice. Conjuration of angels and the use of certain metals were resorted to for the purpose of preventing the flood.¹ Cf. Sanhedrin 108 where the flood generation is said to have boasted that they were able to undo the effect of the flood by natural means, especially by using certain metallic instruments.² The flood generation possessed superhuman wisdom, of an impure source to be sure, Satanic sagacity and ominous powers in which they trusted; but their overconfidence even hastened their destruction.

¹ See *Enoch* LXV, 7 the work in metals is given as one of the reasons of the flood.

² This should be compared with the statements in the epic *Lugal-e ud Melam-bi Nirgal*. Cf. *AJSL* 34, 31 ff. [Editor].

The Babylonian flood story influenced the flood account in the Book of Enoch and Jubilees; the more so since the Noachic fragments that deal with the flood borrowed extensively from Babylonian sources. The following parallels will show the dependence of the pseudopigraphic books upon Babylonian lore:

Enoch X, 2: reveal to him the end that is approaching; instruct him that he may escape; X, 1: hide thyself; LXVII, 3: I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee; LXXXIX, 4: darkness, mist increased.

Job IV, 23, and he was taken.

Enoch XXXVII, 5, the lot of eternal life was given to me.

Job VI, 17, that they should celebrate.

Flood Story 1: I will reveal to thee the secret story, decision relate.

9: Ea, the Lord of wisdom, counselled.

25: leave thy possession.

40: I may not dwell in your city.

107: light turned to darkness.

19: I caused Utnapishtim to dwell afar off.³

(Nippur version IV: an immortal spirit he brought to him.)

75: a feast like a New Year's.

The seven years of hunger, further, in the Babylonian myth correspond well with the condition described in Enoch IX (cf. Gen. R. 25: a hunger prevailed in the days of Lamech).⁴ According to Enoch, the angels made the ark (LXVII, 2); in the Babylonian account, artisans are said to have been employed while Ea drew the plan. In the Berossos account Ut-Napishim is credited with leaving behind writings at Sippara; cf. the reputation Noah enjoys in Enoch (LXVIII, 1), and Jubilees (X, 10) the Hebrew Book of Noah and Raziel as the transmitter of secret knowledge. (Other points of resemblance between the Babylonian and the pseudopigraphic accounts have been discussed in my article mentioned above.)

The glorification of Noah is another indication of Babylonian influence. In Enoch he is said to resemble the angels. He is made to correspond to Ut-Napishim, the god-like man, or to Gilgamesh, two-

³ As I have shown in my article "Angels in the Book of Enoch," Anglican Theological Review, July, 1930, the Enoch legend was greatly influenced by the Utnapishtim myth.

⁴ Contrast Sanhedrin 108 where the wickedness of the generation of the flood is attributed to profusion of riches and plenty.

thirds god, one-third man. The early Midrashim tend to minimize the importance of Noah (Sanhedrin 108, 9; Gen. R. 23, 29): he would not have escaped the flood had it not been for the mercy of God. But in the Cabbala, Noah again rises to importance. See Zohar 1, 92: A righteous man, modeled after the higher image, the foundation of the world, bringing peace in his wake. The master of the earth (*איש הארץ*) in truth: In his generations—those who sprang from him he perfected.

Note how the disparaging epithet *איש הארץ* connected as it is with the irreverential episode in Noah's life is made into an honorable title.⁵ Even that episode itself is explained away as an attempt though an unsuccessful one, on the part of Noah to undo the disastrous effect of the original sin (Zohar 1, 93). The modifying phrase "in his generations" implying that Noah was righteous only in comparison with the wicked generation of his time, is explained in the Zohar as inclusive of later generations. This turn in Noah's favor was due to the influence of the Enochic literature (cf. Zohar 1, 58): Noah busied himself with the books of Adam and Enoch.

In later Midrashim, as remarked above, Noah is said to have been a recipient of wisdom. According to Razrel he found a book hidden by Adam and Enoch. Sefer Noah, in the manner of Jubilees, tells of medical secrets that were entrusted to him by Rafael. PRE⁶ traces the knowledge of the calendar from Enoch through Noah. In YRI¹¹⁵ he is interchanged with Enoch.

The Babylonian name Atrachasis designating wisdom and piety is, probably, the original of the Mandaean *Uthras* and the *Idris* of the Coran (the latter applies the name to Enoch: as we have seen above the Enoch legend was influenced by the Atrahasis tradition).

According to Enoch (also to Josephus, Ant. I, 3, 1) Noah separated from his generation. In rabbinics, on the other hand, the building of the ark is explained as a means whereby Noah induced his generation to repent of their evil deeds. Noah kept on building it for 120 years, warning his contemporaries that a flood was about to come. The excellent moral lesson drawn in rabbinics (that the Lord did not send the flood without due warning) is entirely lost sight of in the pseud-epigrapha and Josephus. It seems that the latter sources were influenced by heathen mythology.

⁵ For *איש הארץ* as an honorable title cf. En-ki-du which is read by Clay-Jastrow (Gilgamesh 25) En-ki-dug: the good lord of the earth, its cultivator.

REVIEWS

Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients. Von Hans Bonnet. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1926, pp. 227.

Mr. Bonnet studies the evolution of weapons in prehistoric times and in the ancient Orient. He takes up the club, the battle-axe, the poniard, the sword, the curved sword, the spear, the lance, the sling, the bow and arrow, the shield, the helmet and the body armor. This book is illustrated by 107 drawings and gives everything that is important on the subject. The discussion is exhaustive and well-balanced. The author does not enter into controversy on several details where another point of view has been held, but his position is solid.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Paleolithic Man and the Nile-Faiyum Divide. [Prehistoric Survey of Egypt and Western Asia, Vol. I (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. X).] By K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 77 + XI plates, 1 map \$5.00.

An epochal book! Heretofore, both in Egypt and Western Asia, the archaeologist, when considering Paleolithic data, has been handicapped with an inadequate geological background. Many observations, especially in Egypt, were too often made from flint artifacts found upon the surface, and are of little or no value. Therefore, the prehistory of Egypt, as that of Western Asia, rests upon an insecure foundation.

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, to supply the urgent need, has undertaken a magnificent task, a comprehensive geological survey of Northeastern Africa and Western Asia. The present volume is the first fruit of this project, and while it is only a preliminary report, the results already obtained are of inestimable importance.

Following the Nile out of its gorge, the authors have discovered a great stretch of gravel which formed the bottom of an enormous Nile at the close of the Tertiary age, and embedded in it, Lower Paleolithic implements of Chellean and Acheulean types. Thus, innumerable problems of co-ordination with the prehistory of Europe arise, and the Sicilian land-bridge assumes special prominence. Further, the authors definitely demonstrate, that during the whole of the Lower Paleolithic, the North African Plateau possessed abundant rainfall and was undoubtedly covered with vegetation. Moreover, the actual desiccation of the Sahara Plateau did not begin earlier than the Middle Paleolithic, and even then vegetation probably lingered on in the coastal region west of the delta until the fourth millennium B.C. However, final desiccation produced profound changes. The former hunters of Northeastern Africa were driven into the Nile Valley, and eventually conditions arose which necessitated and were favorable to the institution and development of agriculture. The conclusion is forced upon us, when the geological survey has been completed, that the history of the nearer Orient will no longer be prefaced by the prehistory of Europe.

H. M. HYATT

Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien. Herausgegeben von Adolf Erman und Hermann Grapow. VII. und VIII. Lieferung. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929, 1930. RM. 17.25 each.

Lieferung VII carries us from *Ś* to *Śhpr*, and Lieferung VIII from that to *Śd.t.* The great Wörterbuch is nearing completion, when a full review will appear.

S. A. B. M.

Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Von Walter Wreszinski. II. Teil, Lieferungen 19–21. RM. 25.60 each.

Wreszinski continues with his Atlas leaving us more and more in his debt. Lieferung 19 contains 10 plates, two from Karnak, two from the Ramesseum, and the rest from Medinethabu. Lieferung 20 contains 9 plates, all from Medinethabu. They are all of the same excellent character. Lieferung 21 contains 8 plates dealing with the Battle of Kadesh, and also the reign of Remeses III.

S. A. B. M.

Sur l'Ornementation d'un Bracelet en Ébène datant du Nouvel Empire. Par Ludwig Keimer. Reprint from *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*, T. III, fasc. 1-2, pp. 42-50, pls. 15-16, 1930.

S. A. B. M.

Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXI^e Dynastie. Par Gustave Lefebvre. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 303. Frs. 150. *Inscriptions concernant les Grands Prêtres d'Amon, Rome-Roij et Amenhotef.* Par Gustave Lefebvre. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 77.

These two books are companions, and contain not only a full and thorough study and history of the High Priests of Amon, but also furnish the text of the inscriptions of two of the most important of these great personages. A second part of the first volume is devoted to a discussion of the names of the High Priests, where much important philological matter may be found.

Among other things the author makes clear the conditions under which the XXIst dynasty arose. In order to appreciate the abiding value of this piece of historical work one has to follow step by step the clear argumentation of the author.

SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

Die Kulturleistungen der Menschheit. Zweiter Band, 1. Abteilung. Von Hermann Schneider. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1929, pp. 224. RM. 9.50.

This part of Schneider's great work deals with the early civilization of France and Germany, and will, together with the next two parts planned soon to appear, receive a full and thorough review by a specialist as befits a work of this character.

S. A. B. M.

Die Denkmäler der Felsarchitektur. Von Dr. Erich Brandenburg. Der Alte Orient, Band 29, Heft 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1930, pp. 34. RM. 1.75.

In this issue of "Der Alte Orient" the author studies the cliff architecture and tombs of Petra and Palestine. There are several illustrations. The author shows the importance of such monuments

for an understanding of Near East civilization. From his wide knowledge of the subject he can bring comparisons with the Hellenic and Asianic cultures.

J. A. M.

Langues et écriture sémitiques. Par P. Dhorme. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930, pp. 75.

We have never seen a better survey of the Semitic languages. The author knows the literature exceedingly well. The treatment is well balanced. One misses only reference to the revised Hebrew language spoken now in Palestine and to the Neo-Hebrew of Mischnic and Medieval times.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Perlen sumerischer Poesie. Dritte Folge: Die große Ischmedagan-Liturgie. Von P. Maurus Witzel. Jerusalem: Verlag des Verfassers, 1930, pp. 132. RM. 8.75.

This is the third part of *Perlen sumerischer Poesie* and a fourth part will contain a full index to this series. In this part the author brings together an interesting series of poems or liturgies some of which were published before, but the translations of which are now greatly improved by the author. Dr. Witzel has an uncanny way of penetrating right to the heart of the meaning of these difficult texts, and no Sumerologist can afford to neglect and weigh carefully every rendering which Witzel proposes.

S. A. B. M.

Les Tablettes de Ras Shamra. Par Ch. Virolleaud. *Extract de la Revue Syria.* Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 285-310, pls. 18. Frs. 75.

These tablets are published together with F. A. Schaeffer's *Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra*, some of which are written in Assyrian, others in an unknown dialect but in cuneiform. The Assyrian tablets contain vocabularies, syllabaries, lists of divinities, and two interesting letters like the Tell el-Amarna letters. The others are not as yet decipherable.

S. A. B. M.

The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. New York: Oxford, 1928, pp. 210.

The discoveries made at Ur have transformed our knowledge of Sumerian life. This book presents in a popular and a rather exhaustive way the results of these discoveries. Mr. Woolley describes the beginnings of Sumeria, the civil wars, Sumerian society, the Third Dynasty of Ur, Isin and Larsa, and what he calls the claim of Sumer. He also gives a very good explanation of the reasons which brought about the fall of the Third Dynasty. We believe that Mr. Woolley does not claim too much for Sumer. We are certain that his book, so well written and so well illustrated, will demonstrate that in 3500 B.C. there was in Ur a civilization of primordial importance in the history of the world. Mr. Woolley says that behind all Eastern civilization lies Sumer. His book should be read by every student of ancient history.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Hittite Studies. No. 1; Pt. 1, A Hittite Manual for Beginners, Pt. 2, The "Treaty" of Mursilis with Kupanta-Kal transliterated and translated with Vocabulary. By George A. Barton. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928, pp. XXXIX + 85. Frs. 60.

The veteran Assyriologist has now given us in his own clear and concise manner an excellent beginning book in Kanish or Hittite, a language now known to belong to the Indo-European family of languages. There is a good Sign List as well as an excellent vocabulary. One wonders at the capacity for good and original work which Professor Barton possesses. This book is to be highly commended.

S. A. B. M.

Sumerian Lexical Texts from the Temple School of Nippur. Cuneiform Series, Vol. I. By Edward Chiera. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929, pp. 30, pls. 126. \$5.00.

In this volume, Professor Chiera gives accurate copies of 256 texts from Nippur which are now in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. These are vocabularies in Sumerian. A number of them are partly duplicates and there is a list of such parallel texts. This work is considerable and should be the basis for a subsequent study of the Sumerian archetype lexicon. About two-thirds of this document is found scattered in the tablets published in this volume. Some of the tablets are most interesting

not only from the point of view of lexicography but from the point of view of the history of civilization. The rather long list of gods in No. 122 has a column for gods of foreign origin, including Ea and Ishtar. Some of the texts contain hymns, verbal forms and sample contracts. The work is most careful as one would expect from the author. No words of praise are too strong here.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Textes Cunéiformes. Tome XII. Contrats Néo-Babyloniens, I. de Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide. Par Georges Contenau. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927, pp. 64. Frcs. 100.

Professor Contenau gives here one hundred and twenty-three new Babylonian contracts from the time of Tiglet Pilezer III to Nabonidus. A few of them only have been published. This volume is an important contribution to the study of Babylonian culture.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Les Antiquités Orientales — Monuments hittites, assyriens, phéniciens, perses, judaïques, chypriotes, araméens. Par Georges Contenau. Paris: Albert Morancé.

An album of splendidly made and well chosen ancient works of Art. The introduction by M. Contenau is accurate and informing.

S. A. B. M.

Contribution à l'Histoire juridique de la 1^{re} Dynastie babylonienne. Par G. Boyer. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928, pp. 86, pls. XXII.

In this work 50 tablets have been translated and transliterated, as well as autographed. They all belong to the First Dynasty of Babylon. The author has brought out many valuable points in his discussions.

S. A. B. M.

Études sur le Droit babylonien. — Les Lois assyriennes et les Lois hittites. Par Édouard Cuq. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 522. Frcs. 75.

After an informing introduction, the various laws of Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittites are classified and discussed with considerable insight, but far from fully, cf. the "Oath" on page 204. The author seems to have taken very little account of the studies of other scholars in this field.

S. A. B. M.

Inscriptions from Adab. By Daniel David Luckenbill. Cuneiform Series, Vol. II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. 87. \$5.00.

This volume was prepared by Professor Luckenbill several years ago and is now edited by his successor Professor Chiera. The texts come mostly from Bismaya except three from Telloh. The inscriptions are from fragments of vases, bowls, cups, door sockets, and tablets, all being in Sumerian. The work has been done with great carefulness as one would expect although some of the plates are reproduced upside-down. A fuller table of contents and an index of names would have added to the usefulness of this volume since many of the texts are of great historical value. This volume is an important contribution to our knowledge of Assyriology and for those who have known Dr. Luckenbill, a reading of it makes them realize still more what science lost when he died.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Notes assyriologiques. Par F. Thureau-Dangin. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1930, pp. 9.

A reprint of a short article from the *Revue d'Assyriologie*. In a note on the Table of Senkereh Mr. Thureau-Dangin takes up some of the principles of surfaces in Babylonia. Another note studies the chariot of Tiglathpilezer, another the system of time notation among the Babylonians.

J. A. M.

Die Bedeutung des Mythos für das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis. Von Dr. Alfred Jeremias. Leipzig: Adolf Klein, 1930, pp. 57. RM. 1.75.

In this interesting little book, Dr. Jeremias takes up the definition of myth, its comparison with prophecy, its parallels in the Gospel and in the story of the Passion, and more especially a study of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed in the light of mythical development. Finally, the author takes up the idea of creation and christology as related to myth. The point of view is sensible and is based on sound information. In spite of its relatively small size, this is no doubt one of the best books on the subject.

J. A. M.

Notes assyriologiques. By F. Thureau-Dangin. Reprinted from the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2. Paris, 1930, pp. 4.

A thorough study of the division of the circle showing that the division of the circle is derived from the division of the year. A short article on the Sumerian mina.

J. A. M.

L'Homme Qui Posséda la Plante de Vie. Par Philippe Selk. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1929, pp. 258. Frcs. 25.

A charming story of the time of Rim-Sin and Hammurabi describing the revolt of the Sumerians against the famous ruler. The story is connected with magic incantations and the plant of life. It is accurate in detail. The author has a note on Ut-Napishtim giving a new explanation of the Deluge. The style is good and the blank verse is effective.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Les Céramiques Musulmanes de Suze au Musée du Louvre. Reprint from "Syria." By Raymond Koechlin. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928, pp. 19, pls. 4.

The author rejects the pro-Egyptian theory of Butler and shows the importance of the recommendation of Rhages. This article is the preliminary statement of a larger work to come.

J. A. M.

Kleinasienische Forschungen. Von Ferdinand Sommer und Hans Ehelolf. Vol. I, No. 3. Weimar: Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1930, pp. 153. RM. 11.

This number contains an article by Johannes Friedrich on the Asianic personal names containing the element *muwa*. It discusses the well-known names of *Pa-na-am-mu-u* and *Tar-ku-mu-ua*. Walter Porzig studies the method of Illujankas and Typhon in the Boghaz-koy tablets. Ernest Tenner translates two Hittite sun-god hymns. Hans Ehelolf continues his study of Hittite lexicography. Albrecht Götzke takes up again the study of *šakijah*. Piero Meriggi studies the Lycian syntax. P. Jensen contributes a thorough study of the Hittite hieroglyphics.

J. A. M.

The Sarcophagus of an Ancient Civilization: Petra, Edom and the Edomites. By George L. Robinson. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 520. \$7.50.

No one is as well qualified as Professor Robinson to write a book about the Edomites. He made five visits to Petra where he made most important archaeological discoveries. He describes these ruins as a sarcophagus but indeed he makes them live; wonderful illustrations, good maps and a most interesting style perform with them a miracle. In several chapters the author describes the ruins of temples and tombs in the land of the Nabateans. He endorses the view of Trumbull that Gabal Maderah is the true Mount Hor. He gives an exhaustive study of the history of Edom and of its religion. The author believes that Edom gives us the background of the Book of Job. The book includes an introduction by Professor Albright, a chapter on the geology of Edom by Professor Day, one on the botany of Edom and Moab by Dr. Post, one on the history of the Nabateans by Professor Scott. There are two indices. This book is certainly exhaustive, interesting and accurate. Professor Robinson worked at it for thirty years. It was worth it.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients. Von Alfred Jeremias. 4th ed. Leipzig Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1930, pp. 867. RM. 24.

For many years, the work of Jeremias has been like an introduction to the study of Assyriology for Old Testament students. This new edition does not change the general outline of the former ones although it adds new data and pictures from recent discoveries. The volume is also larger and the indices are complete. This book will continue to render great service and to be a *vade mecum* not only for beginners but for advanced students. We only regret that the bibliographies have not been made fuller to include recent literature, for instance, on the discussion on the biblical patriarchs following Adam. More use could have been made also of recent results of excavations in Ur. It seems to us that the author still sees Babylonia through Assyria as was customary a generation ago. The time has come when the study of Assyria should be genetic and begin with Sumeria.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Gates of Righteousness. By Julian Morgenstern. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1929, pp. 37.

After a fairly full account of the Golden Gate—"the Gates of Righteousness"—in modern and mediaeval Christian writers and in mediaeval Jewish and Moslem writers as well as in early Christian and Rabbinic literature and in the Bible, President Morgenstern establishes the antiquity of the rites centering about this gate in connection with the celebration of the Sukkot-New Year's Day festival, which he shows to be the forerunner of the Day of Atonement in the Priestly Code as well as of the Festival of the Cross in the Christian Church. This important question and many others of equal interest will form a part of a large work which Dr. Morgenstern has in preparation and which all Old Testament scholars await with great expectations.

S. A. B. M.

Jona, Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi äthiopisch. Unter Zugrundelegung des Oxford MS. Huntington 625 nach mehreren Handschriften herausgegeben von Oscar Löfgren. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1930, pp. 103.

A review of this book, just received, will appear in this *Journal* in the near future.

S. A. B. M.

Hosea, Joel, Amos. By C. V. Pilcher. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1929, pp. 207. \$1.25.

In this excellent little book, consisting of forty-eight exegetical sermonettes, the author makes the prophets live again. Without disregarding the historical background and the pertinency of their message to their own age, he stresses the significance of their utterances to the spiritual and social conditions to our own time. We note with pleasure that he retains as parts of the original writings the optimistic oracles with which Hosea and Amos conclude, apart from which they seem to lose much of their religious value. The necessities of the series probably require that the books be arranged as they are, we would suggest, however, that a sentence in the introduction urging that they be read in their chronological sequence would have been helpful to the type of reader who will find the book most profitable.

F. H. HALLOCK

A Catalogue of the Publications of the Leningrad Oriental Institute. Leningrad: Oriental Institute, 1927, pp. 24.

A list with summaries in English of recent Russian literature on the Near and Far East.

J. A. M.

An Introduction to Biblical Archaeology. By George S. Duncan. New York: Revell, 1928, pp. 174. \$1.75.

The author of this book has a personal knowledge of excavations in biblical lands. In this work he describes archaeological activity in Palestine and to some extent in surrounding countries. However, the major part of the work should rather be described as a popular outline of recent discoveries presented so as to support a modern view of Higher Criticism. There are chapters on the creation story, on the antiquity of man, on the Garden of Eden, the Flood with references to Babylonian parallels, on the Tower of Babel and the Exodus. There is a chapter on biblical geography.

It is to be regretted that some statements have been inserted which are at least dubious. For instance, we are told that Amurru was a capital situated on the Euphrates (p. 93). In the same category belongs the statement that the Pyramid texts are 3000 years older than Abraham (p. 114). We are also told of Habiru, "god of the Habiru, who were very probably a branch of the Hebrews." We know of course that Habiru has been identified with Hebrew although we personally are convinced that the identification is most difficult on philological lines, and most certainly also on historical lines. But since Habiri have been found on the Euphrates at the time of Rim-Sin and later apparently in Asia Minor, since their activity at the time of the Amarna Letters does not coincide with Joshua's conquest, we do not see how anyone can say that they were a branch of the Hebrews. The most that can be claimed is that they are connected with the story in Gen. 34.

There is a short but useful bibliography and a good index in this work.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

The Composition of Judges II. 11 to I Kings II. 46. By Harold M. Wiener. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929, pp. 40.

A study emphasizing two important sources N and G and subsequent editing of the text. It manifests in the evolution of Mr. Wiener a remarkable scientific stage which makes his death all the more to be regretted.

J. A. M.

Les Proverbes de Salomon ... Texte Bohairique ... By Oswald H. E. Burmester and (the late) Eugène Dévaud. Vienna: Holzhausen, 1930, pp. XVI + 68.

Five years ago these two scholars published a re-edition of de Lagarde's *Psalterii Versio Memphitica* (Luvain, 1925) in the preface of which they promised to publish editions of the books of the Bohairic Old Testament which have been preserved, either entirely or in part but with continuous text, and of which for the most part editions can no longer be had. Despite the lamented death of Professor Dévaud in July, 1929, the *Proverbs* volume has appeared.

It is proposed to give a readable text, as correct as possible, with a very complete critical apparatus, upon which comparative studies may be based by those who have the leisure and materials to pursue them. All comparative study is explicitly disclaimed. In this the editors are wiser than Ciasca, who, while leaving errors uncorrected and unexplained, makes random and profitless comparisons with uncritical texts of other versions.

The text is based upon the Rylands Cod. 8, which is the oldest, and possibly of the 14th century. Four other biblical manuscripts and twenty-three liturgical ones are drawn on for the apparatus. Unfortunately none of the four is more than a hundred and forty years old, and all five of the biblical manuscripts stop at Ch. xiv, v. 26, thus omitting more than half. Of the omitted part Ch. xxiv, vv. 24-29, 50-77, Ch. xxix, vv. 28-38, are supplied from the liturgical manuscripts. Both the Sahidic version and the closely related Akhmimic have fared better. Of the former we have a text so complete and satisfactory that there is no need of using the rather doubtful testimony of the many quotations; and of the latter we have a text both full and ancient. The Chicago manuscript of the Sahidic version has been edited with variant readings, and the book is in press. It is understood that Professor Carl Schmidt's edition of the Berlin manuscript of the

Akhmimic version waits only upon the publication of the Chicago manuscript. With these in hand—the Akhmimic is probably little more than a dialectically rectified form of the Sahidic—the most closely related form of the Greek version can be found. With Burmester and Dévaud's critical text of the Bohairic version in hand a separate study of the Greek can be made. Only then can the Sahidic-Akhmimic be directly compared with the Bohairic, for the two are apparently quite independent. Sahidic Proverbs has in places a curious text which may be due to translation and to Coptic ideas, or may be due to an unknown Greek original. It is at any rate more interesting than our present Hebrew text, and merits the publication of an English translation.

The editors have done their work with completeness, precision and consistency.

W. H. WORRELL

Great Figures and Events in Jewish History. By Hirsch Braver. New York: Bloch, 1930, pp. 340. \$2.50.

This is the first volume of a new history in catechetical form covering the Gaonic Period. It describes the foundation of the colleges of Babylonia, the incoming of Islam, the Karaite schism, the Jews in the Roman Empire and under the Gaonic hegemony that followed it, the Golden Age in Spain and the great men who make Jewish culture of that period famous. The book is well written and deserves a second edition, for which we would recommend a few changes. The description of the personality of Mohammed is not historical, the epithets applied to him being polemical and untrue (p. 18). It is not exact that the Franks were Arians (p. 50). As a matter of fact the triumph of Catholicism over the Arians was due to their influence. Bodo was not a bishop, but only a deacon, and therefore not the emperor's confessor (p. 54). The theory that Spain is derived from Shaphan does not deserve to be presented (p. 57). The Crusades numbered eight in all and not nine (p. 145). There was no necessity to repeat for the third time a proverb of Maimonides (p. 210), and the spelling *Cohenim* is rather strange (p. 196). From the point of view of pedagogy, the book is well written and deserves to be studied.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Paradise of Eden. By Frederick Victor Vinnett. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1929, pp. 78.

Translation with notes and introduction of fourteen remarkable homilies of Ebedjesu. The author had done his work carefully and well.

J. A. M.

The Third Wall of Jerusalem. By E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. 76, pls. 10. \$6.00.

This translation from the Hebrew describes with a wealth of illustration the remains of the northern Wall in Jerusalem, as well as Byzantine mosaics, a number of small finds, and a Roman tomb of the second century. At the close of the volume there is a very sober and convincing description of the date of that Wall. The testimony of Josephus is carefully examined. The author takes the argument by Father Vincent and shows that it really militates against the theory that this Wall was built by Bar Kokhba. It would really be absurd if the latter had tried to enclose in the second century as much space as the Third Wall contained. For anyone who is unbiased and has no axe to grind it seems evident that with the evidence now in our possession the Wall described by Mr. Sukenik is the Wall of Agrippa left unfinished by him and rapidly finished before the Fall of Jerusalem.

The illustrations given in this work are perfect and honestly done. There is also a very good treatment of other descriptions of the Third Wall in previous writers.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Der Talmud. Seine Entstehung, sein Wesen, sein Inhalt. Von D. Paul Fiebig. Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1929, pp. 146. RM. 5.50.

The author describes the Talmud and its content, giving samples of the various kinds of materials found in that book—proverbs, parables, legal discussions, cabalistic views, ritual, astrology, &c. A long section is given to the Mishna. There are very good bibliographical notices. While the work is essentially popular, it is scientifically presented, and it can be claimed that it is the best short introduction to the Talmud in existence today.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Masalik el Absar Fi Mamalik el Amsar. Vol. II. By Ibn Fadl Allah Al-'Omari. Translated by Gaudefroy-Denombrynes. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927, pp. 350.

In this volume we have a translation of the work of Al-'Omari on Abyssinia, the sultanate of Mali, Morocco, the kingdom of Tlemcen, the state of Tunis and Andalusia. Most interesting is the description of Ibn Tumert's organization of the Mahdist society. Very important also is the description of Mali. The translator has added many notes and also five excellent maps made especially for this work and without which it could not be understood. It is a valuable addition to the "Bibliothèque des Géographes Arabes" edited by Gabriel Ferrand.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Heroines of Ancient Persia. By B. Pavry. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. 111. \$5.00.

Following a short introduction on Firdausi the author takes up a number of stories about his heroines which he tells in prose. These stories show the importance of women and love in ancient Persia. There is a bibliography and an index; the book is illustrated with fourteen reproductions of Persian miniatures from the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. The author gives references to the original Persian text and so his work is not only popular but of value to the Orientalist.

J. A. M.

La Vie de Mahomet. Par Émile Dermenghem. Paris: Plon, 1929, pp. 389. Frs. 15.

In this book history is told as romance, a method which will certainly draw the ire of anyone who prefers Lammant's treatment of the Sira. The author describes the life of Mohammed from his birth to his death with a wealth of detail and in an animated style which have never before been combined by any other biographer. The quotations from the Qur'an are not long and are well placed in their historical frame. The appreciation of the prophet's character is true and at the same time sympathetic. No doubt it will be said that the author has accepted traditions too often at their face value, as for instance when he takes as historical the Himyarite Code (p. 22), but on the whole we believe that for

one who wants to have a fairly complete idea of the life of Mohammed Mr. Dermenghem's work is the best to begin with. Then one may turn to more critical books, but he will have carried with him something of the fragrance of the early days of Islam.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Abu 'L-Mahāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals entitled An-nujūm Az-zāhira fī Mulūk Misr Wal-Kāhira. Edited by William Popper. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Vol. 7, No. 3. Berkeley, 1929, pp. 642-872.

A continuation of the Annals so ably edited by Mr. Popper.

J. A. M.

Usāmah's Memoirs entitled Kitāb al-ITibār. By Usāmah ibn-Munqidh. Arabic Text edited from the Unique manuscript in the Escurial Library, Spain, by P. K. Hitti. Princeton: University Press, 1930.

Mythes, Croyances et Coutumes du Bégamder (Abyssinie). Par Marcel Griaule. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928. Frs. 20.

This is an interesting collection of Abyssinian legends apparently dictated by a young Abyssinian, Ato Agagnahou Engeda, living in Paris. They will be found of high value to all students of Ethiopia.

S. A. B. M.

Dictionnaire Amarigna-français — Vocabulaire Français-amarigna. Par J. Baeteman. Diré-Daoua: Imprimerie Saint-Lazare, 1929, pp. 433. Frs. 100.

A magnificent and indispensable tool to all students of Abyssinian languages.

S. A. B. M.

A History of Arabian Music to the XIII Century. By Henry George Farmer. London: Luzac & Co., 1929, pp. 264. 15/-.

This book presents an excellent and comprehensive survey of its subject. More, and a most important consideration, the inter-relations between music, social and political conditions, are carefully and fully noted. The author divides his material according

to the conventional chronological order. His method of coordinating it with the factors which determine and limit culture is simple, direct and interesting. Thus, each chapter treats a definite historical period and contains: (1) a discussion of the factors just mentioned, (2) a description of musical life, and (3) biographies of individuals who were concerned with the theory and practice of the art. As far as possible technicalities have been omitted, since they are promised in a companion volume. There is an exhaustive and valuable bibliography.

H. M. HYATT

Eighty Mosques and other Islamic Monuments in Cairo. By Mrs. R. L. Devonshire. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1930, pp. 64. Fr. 12.

A very interesting account of the most important monuments of Islamic art in Cairo intended for the discriminating tourist.

J. A. M.

Le visage nouveau de la Turquie. Par Eugène Pittard. Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 184 Boulevard Saint-Germain, pp. 312.

In this interesting study of modern Turkey Professor Pittard describes the new developments of the country and especially what he calls "le miracle turc." There are excellent pages on economic conditions in Turkey and the author shows a remarkable understanding of its problems and of its future. As Professor Pittard is especially an anthropologist he gives in this book most valuable information about the Alpine type so well represented in Asia Minor and of which he has made many previous studies. He refers also to the new excavations in process, especially that of the University of Chicago, and recounts the story of the transition from the Arabic to the Latin alphabet with great vividness. It is certainly the most important recent book on modern Turkey.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Tatarische Texte. Von Gotthold Weil. Berlin und Leipzig: De Gruyter & Co., 1930, pp. 189. RM. 12.

This book is the record of folk songs, stories, vocabularies, proverbs, riddles and grammatical data taken from Tatar prisoners in Germany during the World War. The texts are given in phonetic transcription in the ordinary Arabic script and in German translation with notes. The author is familiar with Russian which he must have used as a means of getting acquainted at first with the prisoners. His work has been done thoroughly and will be of great value as a witness to the present condition of the Tatar language.

J. A. M.

Eine kaschgarische Waqf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Turkestans. Von G. Raquette. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1930, pp. 24, 1 plate.

Edition with translation of a Kashgar Waqf document from Turkestan, dated in the fourteenth century. This is the second number of the twenty-sixth volume of the *Annals* of the University of Lund.

J. A. M.

Ephemerides Orientales. No. 40. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, October 1929, pp. 30.

This catalogue contains an article by Professor O. J. Tallgren entitled "Zu den Prachtinschriften der Alhambra." He gives a long study of the recent work of Remiro on these inscriptions.

J. A. M.

Litterae Orientales. Heft 42, April 1930. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.

This number contains an article on "Das Problem der alt-persischen Kunst" by Dr. O. G. von Wesendonk which calls attention to the eclectic character of this art and to the foreign influences bearing on its development.

J. A. M.

Litterae Orientales. Heft 45, January 1931. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 55 pages.

Contains an important article on "Textüberlieferung und Textkritik in der indischen Philologie" by W. Kirsch, and another on the work of Heinrich Glucks with a bibliography.

J. A. M.

Le Concile de Rajagrha. Par Jean Przyluski. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926-28, pp. 440. Frs. 200.

This is the second volume of the series called *Buddhica*. The author gives the translation of the Concile of Rajagrha in the Sutras and the commentators and in the Vinayas. In the third part he discusses the myth of Gavampati, the expulsion of Ananda, and the importance of the Council stories for an understanding of the Samgha, the Buddhist sects and the formation of the canons. There are several good indices of authors quoted, subjects, and Indian and Chinese words. The point of view of the author deserves to be better known in English-speaking countries where unhappily the importance of the Pali canon as a primary source has been overemphasized. He shows that the Bhiksu stage was not important at first. The Rule became slowly more elaborate. In the beginning there are many Aranya or forest hermits, and there are four stages of life in ancient Buddhism as in Brahmanism. He shows that this is proved by the Edicts of Ashoka. He shows that Mahayana is a tertiary form of Buddhism due to reaction against Hinayana. Mr. Przyluski's theory of the three stages of Buddhism deserves to be widely known and we consider his book to be one of the most important on the subject.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Gotama the Man. By Mrs. Rhys Davids. London: Luzac & Co., 1928, pp. 302. 4/-.

The author attempts to reveal hidden behind the written documents of Buddhism—Gotama the man, the founder, not of a metaphysical or an ethical system, but of a religion. The book possesses this unusual feature, Gotama speaking in first person. Hence, we have the autobiography of a great prophet as seen through the eyes of a distinguished scholar. An unique and original volume!

H. M. HYATT

Thirteen Trivandrum Plays attributed to Bhasa. Translated by A. C. Woolner and Lakshman Sarup. New York: Oxford, 1930, pp. 208. \$3.00.

Translation with notes of six plays attributed to Bhasa found in South India and edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Whoever may be the author of these plays, they are of great importance for the history of Sanskrit literature and in themselves quite interesting.

J. A. M.

Saddanīti, la Grammaire Pali d'Aggavamsa. II. Dhātumālā, Chapters XV–XIX. By Helmer Smith. Berlin: Lund, 1929, pp. 602.

Mr. Helmer Smith continues the publication of the Pali Grammar of Aggavamsa.

J. A. M.

The Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or the Lotus Gospel. By W. E. Soothill. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, pp. 286.

Very few books have an influence equal to that of the Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law. It is claimed that it can be compared to the Gospel of St. John and the Bhagavadgita. It has been described as the "Gospel of Half Asia." Whether it deserves the name or not can be decided fairly well by the readers of Mr. Soothill's work. This work is a translation of the Chinese version of the Lotus Sutra. There is an introduction covering the history of the Sutra and describing its form and content and its Mahayana doctrine. The Sutra is strongly controversialist and apocalyptic. It deals essentially with the Hinayana and Mr. Soothill's translation renders such passages with great felicity. As it happens, the English reading public has had occasion to become familiar with Hinayana Buddhism rather than with the Northern form. The author of the Sutra had the feeling that he was teaching a doctrine quite different from that of Buddha. He believed that his point of view was real Buddhism, however, while Hinayana had been only a preparatory norm. Mr. Soothill has somewhat abridged the repetitions found in the Sutra and he has made the book more interesting for the Western reader perhaps less patient than an Easterner and more keen on understanding quickly. There are some very fine illustrations from the Chinese manuscript, a glossary of Sanskrit terms and an index. Mr. Soothill's work is one of the outstanding books of the year in the history of religions.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Reprints from the Smithsonian Report for 1928, Washington.

The Controversy over Human "Missing Links." By Gerrit S. Miller, Jr. Pp. 413–465, pls. 5.

The author begins with short sections—What is the missing link? What is the controversy? Is any agreement possible? Then follows an extensive summary of opinions about the Java Man (*Pithecanthropus*) and the Piltdown Dawn Man (*Eoanthropus dawsoni*), the two fossils which have caused the controversy under consideration. The conclusion is reached—"We are probably in as good position as we are ever likely to be to form a definite opinion about lessons taught by the discoveries of Dubois and Dawson—the things most needed now are more fossils and many of them." Finally, "We should not hesitate to confess that in place of demonstrable links between man and other mammals we now possess nothing more than some fossils so fragmentary that they are susceptible of being interpreted either as such links or as something else." A valuable and (as far as essential books and articles are concerned) an exhaustive bibliography to the end of 1928 is appended. There are 117 items for the Java Man, and 110 items for the Piltdown Dawn Man. A digest of each item is given.

The Neanderthal Phase of Man. By Aleš Hrdlička. Pp. 593–621, pls. 4. (Reprinted, with minor alterations, from the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. LVII, July–December, 1927.)

This is the Huxley Memorial Lecture for 1927. The author maintains, that in considering the Mousterian period, prehistory has almost reached a position of dogmatism which has lead into a blind alley. Consequently, the whole Neanderthal question needs revision. After examining current theories and unsolved problems, he concludes—"There appears to be less justification in the conception of a Neanderthal *species* than there would be in that of a Neanderthal *phase of man*." A provocative and challenging paper.

Geochronology as Based on Solar Radiation, and Its Relation to Archeology. By Gerard De Greer. Pp. 687–696. (Reprinted from Antiquity, Vol. II, No. 7, September, 1928.)

A brief account of a system of chronology for the Quaternary period. This scheme, which the author calls the *Swedish time scale*—because the initiative, organization, and method of investigation are of Swedish origin—is based upon the laminated clays

deposited by melting water along the border of the retreating ice edge. A geochronological institute was established at the University of Stockholm in 1924 for the preservation, elaboration, and extension of material relating to the *Swedish time scale* and its international use. Twelve preliminary papers have been issued.

Mounds and Other Ancient Earthworks of the United States.
By David I. Bushnell, Jr. Pp. 663-685, pls. 12.

This essay originally appeared in the National Geographical Magazine. A popular but excellent summary.

American Indian Costumes in the United States National Museum. By Herbert W. Krieger. Pp. 623-661, pls. 26.

A splendid résumé of the subject, as well as an useful guide to the collection described.

Mammalogy and the Smithsonian Institution. By Gerrit S. Miller, Jr. Pp. 391-411, pls. 3.

An interesting sketch on the relation of mammalogy to human welfare—What it is. How it is carried on. And what the course of its history has been. The author emphasizes a matter generally misunderstood by the public, that the purpose of a great museum is not to collect curios, but to promote research. Thus, in the National Museum there are 214,000 specimens of mammals in the study collection, while those on exhibition total 1,400.

H. M. HYATT

Die Kelten. Von Wolfgang Krause. Tübingen: Mohr, 1929,
pp. 52.

This is a second edition enlarged of a section of "*Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*" of Bertholet. Following the plan of the series the author gives mostly sources with introductions and short explanations. He describes the gods, the realm of the dead, the island of the blessed, the Druids, divination and magic. There is an exhaustive index and a good bibliography.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Les Arts Indigènes en Nouvelle-Guinée. By Stephen Chaunet. Paris: Société d'Éditions Géographiques, Maritimes et Coloniales, 184 Boulevard Saint-Germain, 1930, pp. 351, pls. 114.

In this magnificent volume which is copiously illustrated, Dr. Chaunet describes the art of New Guinea. He does not claim that Negro art has produced many masterpieces, which would obviously not be true. But he shows the great importance of the native art of New Guinea in what may be called the minor arts or handicrafts. In New Guinea we notice a remarkably rich decoration where the variety is due to the separate life of the many tribes inhabiting this great island. He gives a history and description of the country, of its races, of the houses of the inhabitants, of their government, religion, medicine, and death customs. He describes head-hunting and its artistic results, costumes and ornaments, especially head-gear, furniture and the occupations of the natives. He also describes dancing customs, masks and musical instruments. There is a very good bibliography and a map of the tribes. Much has been written on the subject but nothing has been done as completely as this magnificent piece of work.

JOHN A. MAYNARD

Extracts from Abû'l-Mahâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicle entitled Hawâdîth ad-Duhûr fî Madâ'l-Ayyâm Wash-Shuhûr. Edited by William Popper. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930, pp. 163.

La Lydie et ses Voisins aux Hautes Époques. Par René Dussand. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930, pp. 110. Frs. 25.

Le Bayon d'Angkor et l'Évolution de l'Art Khmer. Par Philippe Stern. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927, pp. 212, pls. 22. Frs. 40.

Cours de Berbère Marocain. Par E. Laoust. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928, pp. 323. Frs. 60.

La Femme Chaouia de l'Aurès. Par Mathéa Gaudry. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 316.

Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne. Par E. Benveniste. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 239. Frs. 40.

The Arabic Works of Jâbir ibn Hayyân. Edited by E. J. Holmyard. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Par Étienne Lamotte. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 153.

Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois. Par P. C. Bagchi. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 336.

The Verdict of a Trial Judge in a Case of Assault and Battery. By H. F. Lutz. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.

The Persian Religion According to the Chief Greek Texts. By Emile Benveniste. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 117. Frs. 20.

Islamisme et Socialisme. Par Mouhssine Barazi. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 99.

En-Nafhat el-Miskiya fî-s-sifarat et-Tourkiya. Par Abou-l-Hasan Ali ben Mohammed et-Tamgrouti; traduite et annotée par le Lieutenant-Colonel Henry de Castries. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 130. Frs. 50.

Sanctuaire Punique découvert à Carthage. Par Louis Carton. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 55. Frs. 40.

Die legendäre Maghāzi-Literatur. Von Rudi Paret. Tübingen: Mohr, 1930, pp. 251. RM. 16.20.

La Vie de Pierre Ruffin. Par H. Dehérain. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 292. Frs. 250.

Der Ursprung der Magier und die Zarathuštrische Religion. Von G. Messina. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1930, pp. 102.

Handbuch des Sanskrit mit Texten und Glossar. Von A. Thumb. I. Teil: Grammatik. Von H. Hirt. Heidelberg: Winters, 1930, pp. 538. RM. 16.

Two Assyrian Apotropaic Figurines Complementing KAR. 298, Rev. 4-7. By H. F. Lutz. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.

Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient. Par René Grousset. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, Vol. I, pp. 402; Vol. II, pp. 770. Frs. 250.

Abu'l-Mahāsin ibn Taghrī Birdī's Annals. Edited by William Popper. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929.

Recherches sur le Commerce Génouis dans la Mer Noire au XIII^e Siècle. Par G. I. Bratianu. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 356. Frs. 75.

Le Problème des Centaures. Par G. Dumézil. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929, pp. 275. Frs. 75.